

SPEECH

OF THE

HON. B. GRATZ BROWN,

OF ST LOUIS\*

ON THE SUBJECT OF

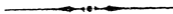
GRADUAL EMANCIPATION

IN

MISSOURI.



DELIVERED IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, FEBRUARY 12, 1857



SAINT LOUIS:

1857.

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## S P E E C H .

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The House of Representatives called up the joint resolution from the Senate, "giving expression to the views of the General Assembly of Missouri, on the subject of emancipation." The resolution was read as follows :

"WHEREAS, circumstances have rendered it necessary, and it is due to the constituent body of our fellow citizens in the State of Missouri, that the Legislature of the State should give an unequivocal expression in regard to the subject of the emancipation of slaves in the State.

BE IT THEREFORE RESOLVED BY THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF THE STATE OF MISSOURI: That the emancipation of the slaves, held as property in this State, would be not only impracticable, but that any movement having such an object in view, would be inexpedient, impolitic, unwise and unjust, and should, in the opinion of this General Assembly, be discountenanced by the people of this State."

MR. BROWN, of St. Louis, (Benton Democrat). I make the motion to reject the joint resolution upon its first reading. Under the operation of our rules, the only question that can now be put to this House is, "shall the resolution be rejected?"

In making this motion, I desire to define my position, and to explain my views upon the whole subject.

Let me begin by saying that for one, I should not have commenced the agitation of this slavery question. I should have been willing for the matter to rest where it did rest, and that the quiet of Missouri should not be ruthlessly disturbed by any action of this character. I felt that enough time had already been consumed in the discussion of the "negro question," and that it was right we should turn our attention to the vast amount of legislation which is now before us, and for any useless delay in regard to which the people will surely hold us accountable. But, sir, when I see the members of that party which assumes the name of "*the Pro-Slavery Party*," of the State of Missouri, coming forward and renewing agitation, after their very leader, on this floor, has put his foot upon such an attempt; after he, as their champion, and with the temporary concurrence of his party, has already pronounced himself hostile to any such resolves, and denounced one of a similar character as a "pestiferous resolution," then I feel released from any obligations to remain a silent spectator of the strife that is inaugurating. Again, sir, when I see this pro-slavery party over-riding that very leader, pulling him down from his place, and forcing the brave as well as the timid to knuckle to their behests and sanction this agitation, then, I wish to say distinctly, that I hold myself prepared to meet this issue, either here, or before my immediate constituents, or anywhere else in the State of Missouri.

I think the whole burden of the opening up for discussion of the gradual emancipation of slaves in this State, rests with the pro-slavery party, and with them alone. Three several times have they brought forward the fatal theme, and summoned their cohorts to rally under the black flag during the fifty days of the present session. First came a bill concerning mulattoes and free negroes, harsh and revolting in character, which was fished up from the unfinished business of the last General Assembly; next an act to prohibit slaveholders themselves from emancipating their slaves, which act still lies before us, in a printed sheet, craving passage

later still, was the indorsement of free-soil nominees, coupled with the "pestiferous resolutions," before alluded to. To-day they have brought it forward again in palpable shape and have resurrected it, as they pretended on each previous occasion, to vindicate their own immaculate soundness on the "goose question;" yet, caring nothing for the injury they may inflict upon the country. A few weeks since with a full knowledge of the facts, in advance, they thrust forward a Mr. Peñu, an avowed emancipationist, as the first choice of their caucus for a directorship in the Bank of Missouri; and then as now, they sought to evade the responsibility of their own action. Again when their accredited organ, catching its cue from that act, pronounced that emancipation was "a subject upon which differences of opinion were allowed amongst the democracy;" and when other public journals were thus induced to participate in the discussion, they raised the alarm cry and insisted upon casting the blame upon others. This morning, with like sinister designs, with the same spirit of agitation, and with more deliberation and forethought, they have re-opened the emancipation question and seek to inscribe a disavowal of their own deed, under cover of an attestation of their creed, upon the journals of the two houses. Hence it is that I arraign that party, here and now, before the people of the State, and hold them as the authors of all the disquietude which may result from the excitements necessarily attendant upon the discussion and the determination of this question in the future.

Sir, it would indeed seem as if this slavery agitation were never to have an end. We have experienced it throughout this State in all its most malignant forms. Like those ulcers of the body, which are no sooner healed over in one place than they break out with increased violence in another; so this disease of the body politic would appear to have become chronic. For three years past it has been fruitful of disaster to Missouri, and now we have it thrown, in advance, into another political contest—that of the approaching gubernatorial contest in August next. All things seem to be infected with it; its sway for evil and disaster seems boundless. It paralyses the grandest enterprizes of commerce, and, at the same time fails not to influence the most insignificant local and personal rivalries. I have read somewhere in the "Arabian Tales," I believe, of a marvelous tent, which the fairy Peri Banou gave to a Prince Ahmed. Fold it, and it became an ornament in the delicate hands of a woman; spread it, and the armies of mighty captains might encamp beneath its ample folds. It would appear as if this slavery question were like that wonderful tent, and its capacity to encompass all things, and its ability to attach itself even to the amenities and refinements of life. It enters into everything, great and small, high and low, political, theological, social, moral, and has become in this latter day the standard by which all excellence is adjudged.

I disdain to recognize that tribunal. What I may have to utter will be spoken regardless of the potent spell which has silenced many voices upon this subject, and in no spirit of deference to the rites of that *worship of whispers* with which many are wont to approach this idol of the South. I am sure I shall say nothing to provoke harshness or anger; but I am equally sure I shall not refrain from saying anything that my honest convictions may prompt. It is with feelings of this nature that I proceed to the consideration of the resolution which has just been read.

Disregarding the preamble which ushers in the resolve, I beg leave to say that I dissent altogether from the language and meaning of the resolution. That declares that any movement, having in view the emancipation of all the slaves held as property in this State, would be "*impolitic, unwise, and unjust.*" I propose, sir, to show, before I get through my remarks, that it would neither be *impolitic*, nor *unwise*, nor *unjust*.

I think it would not be *impolitic*, because, if accomplished, it would destroy the baneful stock in trade of nine-tenths of the *politicians* who now keep the land in turmoil; that it would not be *unwise*, for many reasons that can be presented here touching the welfare and prosperity of Missouri; and that it would not be *unjust*,

for I have heard, as yet, no proposition submitted or indicated, which points at ridding this State of slavery without compensation or equivalents given to the owners for slaves that may be liberated. Let me add to this the declaration that I do not believe it to be either impracticable or far distant in its coming.

MR. SPEAKER—I differ in regard to this emancipation question from many persons here in Missouri, as well as elsewhere, who are emancipationists. I differ from them chiefly as to the causes which may produce emancipation, and the means that may hasten its accomplishment. It may be that I am wrong in the convictions which have been forced upon me by all that I have seen and heard upon this subject; but yet I cannot forget what I have read of the history of the States of this Union. All the facts that stand out from those pages, so far as they relate to the spread or abolition of slavery, only tend to confirm me the more in my impressions. I know that it existed in many of the States where it does not now exist, and that in all of them its extinction is chronicled by acts of legislation recorded upon the statute books. But I do not believe that this institution of slavery ever has been abolished in any of those States simply and solely by those acts. It was virtually gone before it was prohibited. Those laws were but declarations of the existing relations of society in what are now known as the Free States, and not monuments, as many contend, of a high legislative enactment, based upon motives of philanthropy. Humanity—unaided, lofty, pure humanity—has played but an insignificant part in this great world-wide question of slavery and freedom. Perhaps the most distinguished instance where it has volunteered to accomplish a work of this kind is that of the Kingdom of Great Britain, in liberating the slaves of Jamaica, and that has proven a disastrous failure. I am, therefore, no believer in what, for want of a better name, I may term the Humanitarian creed, in regard to this matter. It is impotent to cure the evil. Weighty it may be when acting with public opinion, but unequal to the task of originating, upholding, and controlling that opinion in social questions where the rights of previously acquired property are involved. I believe, sir, that there never has been upon this continent—and the history of the States will bear out the assertion—a power strong enough, able enough, and willing enough, to abolish the system of human slavery in any section where it has once become firmly established, except that one power which has been denominated the Power of Race. I believe that the African race, and its concomitant slavery, will go down and vanish in these United States as the Indian race has gone down and vanished beneath the tread and march of the Anglo Saxon, and that nothing else under God's blue heaven will ever supplant it in the State of Missouri. I believe that the demand of the white man for labor, and a field for his enterprise and exertion, will drive away slavery, and that nothing else can effect it. The labor question will swallow up the slavery question, and the labor question alone will do it.

In stating this position, I wish to be fully understood, and especially as it relates to our own State. It impresses me as a foregone conclusion, that the people of Missouri will never—neither slaveholders nor non-slaveholders—undertake to abolish the system of slavery now prevalent amongst us as a mere act of humanity to the slave; but that whenever they do take this matter in hand as a public measure it will be out of regard for the white man and not the negro. It will be here as elsewhere, a conflict of race, and I do say that the increase of free white population at home, together with the white emigration from other States coming into Missouri, will, whenever and wherever the labor of the white man meets the labor of the slave, beside the same plow-share, in the same harvest fields, face to face, not only be entitled to demand, but receive the preference, and that the labor of the white man will force the labor of the slave to give place and take itself off. The dignity, the interest, the social relations of the white population, not less than the democratic equality that interpenetrates all of our institutions of government, will necessitate this result; and when it does transpire, it will be well for the country. This is what has accomplished the extermination of systems of slavery in the Northern States of

our Union, and it is to this that we must look, in any and all predictions touching the future of the Southern States. Paper edicts and proposed statutes will be of little force or effect, until population—and free white population at that—shall insist upon its rights of labor, and supply that great substratum upon which society rests for support, and to which it looks for production. And, in this connection, I may refer to an idea that has almost passed into a proverb amongst politicians of a certain class, but which yet contains only its grain of truth, mingled with much of misapprehension. I allude to the oft-repeated assertion that the discussion of the relative advantages of free communities over communities where slavery obtains, and the zealous advocacy of the former has proved an unsuccessful advocacy, and has done more to retard the cause of emancipation in the South and West than anything else. That the unwarrantable action of abolition societies and underground railroads has produced a sectional animosity, cannot be doubted; but I am convinced that the influences exerted over immigration, not less than emigration, by those abolition appeals, and the invitations held out to white labor by the Free States, have been the true causes why emancipation has not progressed in the Slave States. White population changing its residence has been directed to the free territories of the North, and away from the more fertile regions of the Middle and Southern States of the Union, and thus there has been in the latter neither demand of, nor occasion for, any change in the relations of society. This has been most certainly true in regard to several of the border States. There the natural increase of whites has immigrated to the territories. Small farmers have sold out and sought cheaper lands in the West; the ownership of the soil has centralized in the hands of large proprietors, and society being stationary its domestic institutions have likewise remained unaltered.

Viewing the question of gradual emancipation as a labor question, and in that light alone, I cannot but regard the resolution, now submitted, as having more significance, and a more sinister bearing, than its mere language might seem to warrant. I look upon it, not only as the initiation of a political agitation, but, also, as a blow indirectly struck at the white laboring men of this State.

When you, Representatives, propose to declare to the thousands and thousands of free white laboring men in Missouri, who are even now claiming their rights of labor, that any movement in behalf of the emancipation of slavery; any design of opening up to their industry all the soil and wealth of our State, is not only "inexpedient, unwise, and unjust," but that it should be "discouraged" by the people; you, in substance tell your constituents that they must, henceforth and forever, labor side by side with the slave, if they labor at all; and that all projects to ameliorate such condition, and rid themselves of such degrading fellowship are to be sacrificed upon the altar of your partisan seal. Does it become you to speak such words to men who are your equals when at home, and your masters when here? Is it the tone or temper that becomes this theme—this Hall—this Assembly? I think not, and for myself I can truly say that no power of party or weight of opposition, will ever force me to give assent to such a declaration, or to countenance a resolution that so plainly bears such construction.

Sir, I conceive that the white laboring man in this State, whether he sits at the work-bench, or follows the plough, or applies himself to the mechanic arts, has as much right to the protection of his labor, as the slaveholder has to the service of his thrall or bondsman. His labor is his property, obtained, not by any purchase, but the gift of his God, designed as a provision for his necessities, a dependency for his life, and a support for his family. It is his inheritance—his all; and if there be anything sacred in the rights of property, assuredly this is entitled to be so considered. And when we go beyond the individual man, and contemplate the fact that such labor is the foundation, not only of all abstract ideas of possession and property, but, also, the substratum upon which rest all social ties that elevate civilization above barbarism, who shall dare to say that the free white citizen has not a higher and holier right to the protection and encouragement, by government, of that labor

upon which he relies, than any slaveholder to the countenance and security of his slaves. I ask you again, Representatives, the question, whether when you assemble here to legislate, it shall not rather be in favor of your own race—your own brother, it may be, than for the sole purpose of perpetuating a servile race amid the hills and valleys of this magnificent State. I say, that it is a question that appeals to the head and heart of every man, who has his own labor to depend upon, and it can only be ignored or disregarded by those who hold that labor is a disgrace. With the latter I have no part or parcel. I hold, on the contrary, that the work of one's own hands is the proudest title which he can have, to the confidence and respect of his fellow-mortals. It is a blazonry that all can decipher; a coat of arms that dates back beyond all other patents of nobility.

It must be apparent to all that the legitimate inference from the denunciation of all emancipation movements, as contained in the resolution before us, is antagonistic to the dignity of white labor; that it aims to place it on the same level with slave labor; and that it designs to affix to it a disgrace and a stigma. It would mould public opinion in this State, after the aristocratic fashion, if its meaning could be accomplished, and in after years entail upon our commonwealth those extreme and radical disparities between different classes of society, which the records of the past teach us, are fruitful only of revolutions, of servile wars, and of the overthrow of all stable government. As such I denounce it, and call upon those who pin their faith to its pro-slavery doctrine, to vindicate it from that charge, if they would not merit indignant repudiation at the hands of those who have elevated them to the seats they occupy in this body.

MR. SPEAKER: In the remarks I have submitted thus far, I have addressed myself to theoretical points, incident to this discussion and to this question. I wish now to bring into view some matters of a more direct and practical bearing upon the subject before us.

*There is, sir, already a gradual emancipation act in force in Missouri.* Even now the movement, looking to the emancipation of all the slaves in this State, is in successful progress. The extinction of the institution, as a system in our midst, is, at this moment, in the course of rapid accomplishment.

This may seem a strange, bold, reckless assertion, but it is true, nevertheless. The time at which this act went into operation I need not name, but that it is in operation, I will establish by most convincing evidence: and that it is an act stronger in syntax, more thorough in effect, and speedier in result, than any written law which could be inscribed upon the statutes here, few will doubt when they come to consider the proofs. Look to the laboring population which is coming into your state, which is crowding your highways, which is extending itself along your streams and railways, which is building up flourishing towns, laying out farms, planting vineyards, in all sections of this State, and you will see the movement to which I refer. Look, again, likewise, and observe, that whenever this population has fixed its domicile, or rested in its course, there it has driven off the institution of slavery before it, as chaff before the winter wind, and you will then see how potential it is in its enforcement—how irresistible in its decrees.

The census of Missouri has been taken during the past year, and now lays upon your tables, and there are startling facts revealed in that enumeration which will bear me out in all that I have said. To them I wish to refer you for evidences, that this abolishment of slavery, which you are here seeking to stifle and suppress, by paper manifestos, is already in force, and is fast gathering a strength and momentum that must soon crush out all opposition. *The census of 1856 is the act of gradual emancipation in Missouri.*

The returns are before us. Let us examine them and compare them with the figures of the preceding years. I hold in my hand, both the census for the year 1856, and for the year 1851, embracing a period of five years between them, and thus affording a fair method of analysing the mutations of population during that interval. I will make them the basis of some calculations, and ask of Rep-

representatives that they will reflect upon the exhibits presented, and say whether I have been hasty in assertion, or inaccurate in any statement.

There are, sir, by computation, twenty-five counties in this State, which show an actual decrease of the number of slaves in each of them since 1851. There are one hundred and seven counties in Missouri. So that it appears at the very outset, that in nearly *one fourth* of the whole number, slavery has positively decreased within the last five years. Those counties to which I refer are as follows :

COUNTIES.	1851.	1856.	1851.	1856.
	Slaves	Slaves.	F whites	F whites
Cape Girardeau.....	1,075	1,301	12,241	11,041
Crawford.....	285	752	6,112	7,434
Dade.....	269	267	3,978	5,651
Franklin.....	1,460	1,358	9,562	11,535
Jefferson.....	512	453	6,416	8,035
Madison.....	696	571	5,305	5,631
Marion.....	2,843	2,649	9,398	10,422
Miller.....	189	165	3,645	3,954
Gasconade.....	104	46	4,886	6,854
Perry.....	793	658	6,427	7,309
Ripley.....	80	77	2,744	3,771
St. Charles.....	1,949	1,360	9,505	11,353
St. Francois.....	1,321	726	4,285	5,033
St. Genevieve.....	616	516	1,699	5,527
St. Louis.....	5,967	4,223	99,097	139,476
Schuyler.....	55	51	3,232	4,635
Sullivan.....	88	62	2,605	5,044
Texas.....	42	35	2,271	3,456
Washington.....	1,077	1,065	7,738	9,070
Wright.....	82	29	3,305	3,080
Harrison.....	13	8	2,434	7,634
McDonald.....	83	51	2,153	3,732
Oregon.....	19	18	1,414	3,381
Osage.....	271	270	6,424	6,222
Cole.....	1,037	858	5,717	9,210
Total.....	21,526	17,084	222,603	298,490
	17,084			222,693
	Decrease....	4,442	Increase	75,797

From the foregoing additions it will be manifest, also, that there has not only been an actual decrease of the number of slaves in each of the counties named, but that the increased white population has been correspondingly large. Thus while the decrease of slaves has been 4,422, the increase of whites has been 75,797, or if we take the sum total of the counties in 1851, it will be found that the ratio of slaves to free whites, was then one to ten, whilst in the year 1856, it is seen to be but one to thirteen. So much for the absolute decrease of slavery in Missouri. Concurrent with this fact, however, may be noted the attendant circumstance, that these counties are the same in which white emigration to the State, is known by every gentleman here to have principally settled. Franklin, Jefferson, Washington, St. Charles, St. Genevieve, Cole, Osage, and Gasconade, have received within the last five years, a large influx of German laboring population; others have been settled up by an industrious class of farmers coming from the older States; St. Louis has drawn its increase from all lands, and tongues, and trades, and spheres of life; and in each and all, the system of slavery has receded before the advance of the white race. It is in these counties chiefly, that the laboring white man has come into contact with the laboring slave—and it is there, that in the course of but five years, and amid all the excitement of a wild slavery furor which swept over our State as a tempest of desolation, and at a time when men's lives were held in imminent jeopardy who refused to accord a divinity to this institution—there and then, I say, the energies of the white man, his demand for labor, his frugality,



economy and industry, have compelled the usages and institutions of slavery to make room for him and go down in the conflict.

As another and strong evidence of what I have stated, that a gradual emancipation act is already in force in Missouri, I would call the attention of Representatives to what is transpiring, and is known to be transpiring by many now within the sound of my voice, in the counties of this State that border upon the State of Iowa. The results of the systems of slave labor, and free labor, and the effects upon the wealth and welfare of communities, are there distinctly visible in the rival commonwealths. The Iowa line divides the two as clearly and strikingly as the lucid line of water which distinguishes the turbid and muddy torrents of the Missouri, from the blue and sparkling currents of the Mississippi, at the junction of those mighty rivers. And, prominent among the facts which stand out from the contrast—perhaps more prominent than any other—is the relative price of land in the two States. In Iowa, land of like soil and situation is fully twice as high as in Missouri. This has led recently to quite a large emigration from Iowa to Missouri, along the border countries. Farmers who have settled in Iowa, are selling out to new comers, and making purchases in the northern tier of counties of this State, and the census discloses that the white yeomanry, who have taken up their abode there, have practically excluded slavery from their midst, and reduced it to an insignificant fragment of population. Thus by a comparison taken from the returns of 1851, and 1856, we find that the relative slave and free population is given as follows, in the ten counties adjacent to the State of Iowa :

COUNTIES.	1851 Slaves.	1856 Slaves.	1851 Free Whites.	1856 Free Whites.
Atchison.....	33	85	1,618	3,312
Nodaway.....	70	148	2,048	4,624
Gentry.....	50	69	4,197	8,721
Harrison.....	13	8	2,434	7,634
Mercer.....	14	23	2,676	5,569
Putnam.....	10	31	915	5,570
Schuyler.....	55	51	3,232	4,635
Scotland.....	151	206	3,663	7,157
Grundy.....	149	188	1,856	4,989
Sullivan.....	88	62	2,895	5,044
Totals.....	633	871	25,561	57,255

Increase of slaves from 1851 to 1856..... 238

Increase of free whites from 1851 to 1856..... 31,691

This shows that, in five years, there has been, in the counties along the Iowa line, an increase of 31,691 free white citizens, while there has been an increase of only 238 slaves—or an influx of more than one hundred and thirty-two whites to every slave. The whole number of slaves, moreover, is seen to be, in the ten counties, at the present time, but 871; and that, in the midst of an industrial population of 57,255 souls. Sir, it is an absurdity to say that any “*system of slavery*,” obtains in those counties. It is an abuse of the phrase—a parody upon the institution. Slavery there has been excluded, *as a system*, by settlement and emigration; it lingers only *as an exception*, and the few who remain as slaves, are held merely as the attachments of family pride, or the relics of family inheritance.

The foregoing are but detached, although very significant parts of the census returns for the years 1851 and 1856.\* Let me now present the sum and substance of the whole enumeration of the entire State.

By the tables of 1851 it appears that there were, in all, 87,623 slaves in Missouri at that time. By the tables of 1856 it will be found that the number of slaves foots up 100,115. This shows an increase in the State at large of 12,492

\* The counties of Clay, DeKalb and Clark were not returned in 1856. They are put down, therefore, as in 1851.

slaves, during the intervening five years. Perhaps it would be strictly more correct to say *six years*, inasmuch as the census of 1851 was actually taken in 1850, while that of 1856 was performed late in the year 1856; but that is a point which I pass over for the present. On the other hand, however, the free white population of Missouri, in 1851, amounted to 594,181, and in 1856 to 799,884, thereby giving an increase of 206,703 during the same period. The proportional increase of free whites to slaves is thus seen to be sixteen to one. Slavery in the entire State has not increased in proportion to the *natural increase* of population, even in less favored climates, while the increase of free whites has been both constant and far beyond the average growth of communities. These facts conclusively establish that individual emancipation, and the removal of slaves from the State, have taken place to a large extent in Missouri, during the half decade referred to; and likewise, that immigration is rapidly beginning to find its way here, to supply the field of labor, and to develop the wealth that awaits industry.

But it is proper that attention should be particularly called to that section of the State in which a large proportion of the slave increase has taken place. An examination will show that it is confined to a few of the more central counties. I again refer to the census tables, and find the following statistics, which exhibit this circumstance in a striking light:

COUNTIES.	1851 Slaves.	1856 Slaves.	1851 Free Whites.	1856 Free Whites.
Boone .....	3,666	4,712	11,315	12,520
Buchanan .....	902	1,793	12,074	13,991
Callaway .....	3,907	4,527	9,921	11,150
Howard .....	4,891	5,674	9,080	9,342
Jackson .....	2,970	3,858	11,031	13,173
Johnson .....	878	1,513	6,585	10,880
Lafayette .....	4,614	6,107	9,077	10,058
New Madrid .....	1,173	1,649	4,060	4,817
Pike .....	3,275	3,863	10,334	12,224
Platte .....	2,798	3,296	14,131	15,186
Saline .....	2,719	4,404	6,124	8,214
Carroll .....	621	1,248	4,827	8,408
Totals .....	32,414	42,644	108,559	129,963

Increase of slaves in twelve counties..... 10,230

Increase of whites in twelve counties..... 21,404

Here, in these twelve counties, lying chiefly in the central belt of territory that borders the Missouri river, we see that the increase of slaves in five years has been 10,230, while the increase of whites has been but 21,404, or little more than two whites to every slave—a glaring evidence of the effect which an increase of slave labor has in diminishing the natural increase of white population. In the entire State of Missouri, the whole increase of slaves since 1851, as before shown, has been but 12,492, while the increase in the twelve counties just enumerated is shown to have been 10,230, thus establishing that in all the balance of the State—in the *ninety-five* remaining counties, embracing eight-tenths of the area of Missouri—the increase of slaves has been only 2,262. On the other hand, in these twelve counties the increase in free white population has been but 21,404, while that in the residue of the State—in the *ninety-five counties*—amounts to 181,299. The contrast, then, will stand as follows, to-wit:

Increase of free whites in ninety-five counties..... 184,299

Increase of slaves in ninety-five counties..... 2,262

Ratio of increase of free white to slaves, in ninety-five counties, in five years... 1 to 18

But these ninety-five counties contain a free white population of 669,921, and a slave population of 57,471, or one slave to eleven whites. These facts and figures demonstrate that in eight-tenths of the State, being ninety-five counties out of one hundred and seven, upon a *status* of population of eleven whites to every slave—the increase of inhabitants exhibits eighty-one free whites to every slave; thus

establishing beyond all question or cavil, that the immigration which is flowing into our State from older States and from Europe, is indisputably antagonistic to the *system of slavery*. These are matters that Representatives should consider well when seeking again to renew a slavery agitation; for there is no one thing surer on this earth than that every disturbance of the question of slavery contributes to shake the fabric upon which the system rests, and give greater zeal and impetus to the advance of white labor. I have adduced twelve counties as containing nearly half the slaves in Missouri. Let me refer you to some of them again before passing on. Two, and those amongst the largest, are especially to be noted, to-wit: Howard and Lafayette. In each of them it will be remembered that the increase of slaves is larger than that of free white citizens since 1851, thus:

	Whites.	Slaves.
Increase in Howard in five years.....	262	783
Increase in Lafayette in five years.....	981	1493

This increase, therefore, of slaves has been *at the expense* of the white population; and those who are so eager in contending for the beneficent influence of "slavery extension," will have to reconcile it to themselves, how they give praise to an institution which is thus seen, even in the heart of Missouri, amid her most fruitful lands and enchanting scenery, to be a barrier to the advancement of their own race and their own lineage.

The contrast which has been presented between the twelve large slave-holding counties of Missouri, and the ninety-five counties that may be almost termed non-slaveholding, if we look only to the proportion between whites and slaves, is one that may well call for serious consideration. It is an exhibition of the growth of slavery in a small section of Missouri, and of its decline elsewhere under the influences of immigration from abroad. It tells us in language not to be mistaken, that the great advance in the population of this State, has taken place when slavery has scarcely increased at all. And what does all this signify? It means, as I have before stated, that emancipation is already transpiring in Missouri; for if the statistics I have presented do not amount to that I know not what would. It is gradual emancipation on its largest, proudest, grandest scale---emancipation gathered as a triumph in the forward march of the white race; a trophy of our own civilization. Sir, I would ask what act can you pass in this General Assembly, equal to that census return for the year 1856? There is nothing that you could record as law here to-day, that would be half so effective; it is the movement of the masses of the people, and while legislation may aid that movement, neither laws, nor edicts, nor resolutions, can prevent that movement.

I have alluded, sir, to the counties in this State, where slavery has, since 1851, increased; and where it has since then decreased. I have shown, that in much the largest part of Missouri, it is in process of elimination. Let me now submit some other facts to show how slight the hold this system, *as a labor system*, has upon different sections of this State. There are twenty-two counties in Missouri, which contain scarcely any slaves. I will cite them. Adair, Atchison, Butler, Dallas, DeKalb, Gasconade, Gentry, Harrison, McDonald, Maries, Mercer, Oregon, Ozark, Pulaski, Putnam, Reynolds, Ripley, Schuyler, Stone, Sullivan, Texas and Wright have an aggregate white population amounting to 94,685, but have within their limit only 1,019 slaves; or about *one ninety-third part of a negro to every white person*. That is what would be called, anywhere but in Missouri, practical emancipation already accomplished; an emancipation that will compare favorably with any of the free States. In like manner, such comparison might be instituted in many other localities with similar results; but though it might add somewhat to the force of illustration, it will be unnecessary to pursue it after the instances just referred to. The truth shines plainly forth and all may see it who will.

MR. SPEAKER, I have been somewhat minute in the elaborate investigation of this census of 1856, because it was proper to establish, that I was indulging in no reckless rhetoric, when making the assertion that an act of gradual emancipation

was already in force in our State—an act controlled by no legislative caucus, influenced by no political trickery, and to be withstood by no vain resolves, but resting for its basis upon the tide of human beings who have come and are hereafter to come to sit down with us in this land of plenty, and to aid us in building up the structure of a noble and flourishing commonwealth. That I was correct in my assertion, few, I believe, who have carefully examined the statistics that bear upon the question, will now incline to doubt. Nor will there be much more inclination to doubt that this emancipation movement is effecting its ends with a certainty and rapidity that may well startle those who have not noted its progress heretofore. The fact, that in twenty two counties the whole number of slaves is only 1,019, against 94,584 whites; the fact that in ninety-five counties the slave increase has been only 2,262, or a number that is not equal to the natural increase of slaves, this showing clearly a large exportation from the State; the fact that in ten counties along the Iowa line, slavery is but a nominal affair, and that upon a population, in 1851, of sixty-five whites to one slave, the increase since that time has been in the ratio of one hundred and thirty two whites to every slave; the fact that near one-half of the slave population of Missouri is confined to twelve interior counties; the fact that the ratio of increased population throughout the whole of the State, shows an average of sixteen whites to one slave; and last, and chief of all, the fact that in twenty-five counties of Missouri the actual number of slaves has *decreased* rapidly during the last five years—all these facts, sir, are too important and convincing to be ignored by even the blindest prejudice that ever ran wild in the furor of “slavery propagandism.”

Is aught else needed to the argument that Missouri must ere long, from the operation of natural causes, rid herself of the institution of slavery? If it be, I point you to her outlying position amidst free territories. On the east, we have Illinois, a free State; on the north, Iowa, a free State; and on the west, Kansas, which no one here now doubts, will, necessarily, become a free State. The example of their industrial white communities, and the influence they cannot but exert upon our own citizens, will be sufficient alone to make the system of slavery no longer a desirable or profitable institution amongst us. Already the effect of that proximity has been felt, and large slaveholders, in the rich upland counties of the West, are beginning to send their slaves to a Southern market. The cotton fields and sugar plantations of Mississippi and Louisiana yield larger returns to such slave labor than the rural districts of Missouri. Hemp is the only staple here left that will pay for investment in negroes, and this is the secret of half the exportation of slaves that we see daily taking place. Sir, it was but a few days since that, standing upon the steps of this Capitol, I saw, and many others saw, gangs of slaves driven along on their route to Texas, there to find new fields of labor. That sight was to me proof, strong as Holy Writ, that the doom was fixed upon slavery as a system in the future history of Missouri.

So much have I felt it incumbent upon me to say in regard to the actual *status* of the slavery question and the emancipation movement in this State, as well from the convictions of my own mind, as from a sense of what was due to the constituency I represent in this assembly. I could not pass so grave a topic by without saying what I verily believed to be the truth in the premises, regarding the rights of white labor, not less than its destiny and its victory upon our own soil. And now, with that branch of the subject I have done, and shall turn with more cheerful heart to contemplate what would be, and will be, the effect of emancipation upon the varied interests and manifold sources of wealth, which so abound in Missouri.

I think, sir, that in all our domestic relations, as well as in our relations towards the balance of this confederacy, Missouri would be benefitted by the liberation and riddance of every slave within her borders. I am persuaded that in respect to our lands, our trade and commerce, our projected railroads, our mining interests, our political position and influence, it would vastly profit us if the people of this

State were free from that burden upon their enterprise, which it may yet take some years to shake off.

Upon the subject of the landed interests of Missouri, which many seem to consider only so far as they are wound up with, and closely allied to the institution of slavery, I may be permitted to submit a few observations. I am fully aware that a large portion of the best land in the State is, at present, or at least was, a few years since, cultivated by slave labor. I may add, furthermore, that I am the last man on this floor who would wish to strike a dastardly blow at any species of property in this community; such action would comport neither with my feelings nor my principles. It is democratic republican doctrine that the rights of minorities as well as the rights of majorities, should be respected; but at the same time it is also correct and wise that, in matters of high public concern the legislation of the country should be conformed to the welfare of the majority of citizens, yet ever kept exempt from passions and prejudices. It is in such spirit that I seek to approach this slavery question upon all occasions, and in such spirit I desire now to assume my own position in the opposing views that are entertained, and interests involved, between the thirty thousand slaveholders, who are mostly land owners, and the seven hundred and seventy thousand non-slaveholders, thousand of whom are, themselves, tillers of land. I am with the latter from conviction, not less than sympathy; still, I would not willingly do any wrong to the former. Satisfied, as I am, that the emancipation of slaves would, in the end, be fully as advantageous to the first as to the last, I can, without any upbraidings of conscience, give that cause a zealous support. It can, sir, be demonstrated that the additional value it would put upon the lands of this State, and the increased economy of culture it would superinduce, would give us an amount of capital and taxable property more than equal to the worth of every slave in our midst, even if the State paid for each man his price, and sent them out from our limits. In respect to culture, by the hands of slaves, we have seen enough, in other and older States, to teach us a lesson that should not be disregarded. As one instance, I may refer you to Virginia—the first born of the wilderness—where her once rich and teeming moulds are now exhausted by the slothful and negligent cultivation that has there predominated. Year after year it has been going on—plowing in the same furrow—until the flint of the earth has exposed its barrenness, and plantations have been abandoned and become forests. That all this is but the result of injurious tillage, has since been made manifest in a singular degree. Lands, which were given up by the slaveholder as too poor to produce the necessary food to sustain its laborers under slave culture, have since been, to a very great extent, taken up by free white laboring men from the Northern States, and nurtured again into luxuriant productiveness. Those men have come into that State and redeemed the refuse farms, worn out by slave labor, and the result is a smiling landscape, where before was a deserted cabin. The slavery system there is now in the hands of immense proprietors, who lay claim only to the past. The future of the Old Dominion rests with the free white agriculturalists, who are yearly restoring value to her broad lands. Again the effect of this institution may be seen in its influence upon the culture and proprietorship of the soil of Kentucky. The earlier days of my life were passed there, and I have, therefore, a personal knowledge touching its operation. It is true that slave labor has not as yet been able to exhaust the miraculous fertility of a limestone country, but the other and customary attendants upon the slave system have not been wanting there. A generation or two has sufficed to concentrate vast tracts in the hands of single owners, while the small farmers, the men too poor to purchase labor, and too proud to work beside the slave, have been forced to burden their estates, to thatch them over with mortgages for temporary relief; and, finally, to abandon their inheritance and seek new homes in new territories. I could name, sir, as illustration of this, a single vicinage, where ten years ago, the population was double what it now is; where the country round was dotted with frequent farms, where beautiful gardens and shaven *versus* spoke

to the eye, but where now all is held in the hands of one or two proprietors, and farmed by overseers and slaves. Such has been the effect of that system upon the landed interests of that State, and such I believe its necessary effect everywhere. From the earliest time, down to the present day, such has been the natural consequence of the institution, and I see not why, if left unchecked, it would not ultimately be so here likewise. From the steppes of Russia, to the plantations of Cuba, it has worked out this social condition—this landed monopoly—and I see not why this State should prove an exception to the experience of all other States.

In perusing, not long since, an able essay, by an admired American author, upon the subject of the "Decline of the Roman Empire," I was most forcibly struck by the graphic delineation which he gave of the controlling and sinister influence which this absorption of the land, in few hands, exerted in hastening the overthrow of that great nation of antiquity. The name of that author stands high in Democratic annals, and cannot but be greeted favorably in this assembly—it was GEORGE BANCROFT. It will not be too great an infringement upon time, I trust, if I quote a passage or two from his volume, which seem to me remarkably applicable to the matter we are considering. He is tracing the fallen greatness of Rome and says:—

"When Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus, on his way to Spain, to serve in the army before Numantia, traveled through Italy, he was led to observe the impoverishment of the great body of citizens in the rural districts. Instead of little farms, studding the country with their pleasant aspects, and nursing an independent race, he beheld nearly all the lands of Italy engrossed by large proprietors; and the plow was in the hands of the slave. In the early periods of the State, Cincinnatus, at work in his field, was the model of patriotism; agriculture and war had been the labor and office of freemen; but of these, the greater number had now been excluded from employment by the increase of slavery, and its tendency to confer the exclusive possession of the soil on the few. The palaces of the wealthy towered in the landscape in solitary grandeur; the plebians hid themselves in miserable hovels. Deprived of the dignity of freeholders, they could not even hope for occupation; for the opulent land-owner preferred rather to make use of his slaves, whom he could not but maintain, and who constituted his family. Excepting the small number of the immeasurably rich, and a feeble and constantly decreasing class of independent husbandmen, poverty was extreme. The King of Syria had revered the edicts of Roman envoys, as though they had been the commands of heaven; the rulers of Egypt had exalted the Romans above the immortal gods; and from the fertile fields of western Africa, Masinissa had sent word that he was but a Roman overseer. Yet a great majority of the Roman citizens, now that they had become the conquerors of the world, were poorer than their forefathers, who had extended their ambition only to the plains round Rome."

And still further—

"He saw the inhabitants of the Roman States divided into the few wealthy nobles: the many indigent citizens; the still more numerous class of slaves. Reasoning correctly, he perceived that it was slavery, which crowded the poor freemen out of employment, and barred the way to his advancement. It was the aim of Gracchus, not so much to mend the condition of the slaves, as to lift the freemen into dignity; to give them land; to make them industrious and useful, and so to repose on them the liberties of the State. With the fixedness of an iron will, he resolved to increase the number of the landed proprietors of Italy, to create a ROMAN YEOMANRY. This was the basis of his radical reform."

And shall these passages, concerning the ruins of the grandest empire of the ancients, point out to us no policy, and avert us from no fatal error in our effort to here build up the mightiest Republic of the New World. I trust, sir, that we shall not be so blind; but that seeing the threatened evil, we will take measures to check its growth. Let us not wed ourselves to our idols, but confronting the future, boldly encourage such reforms in our domestic economy as may do equal justice to the rights of all, and save our wide domain from such fate as befel the fertile plains of Italy.

I have said, sir, that it could be made clear that the emancipation of slavery in this State would insure an increased value to our landed estates, more than equivalent to the worth of all the slaves in Missouri. This can be shown by referring to the experience of other States not less than to that of our own. If, then, I may institute a comparison in regard to the population, wealth, and production of free States and slave States, I would cite the condition of Missouri, as shown by the

Auditor's and Register's reports, and the condition of Iowa, as shown by her tables of population and progress. By reference to the American Almanac for 1857, I find that the population of Iowa was, in 1856, 503,265. This is greater even than would be inferred from the election returns of the last Presidential election. The ratio of her increase, during the last four years, as shown by the votes cast in 1852 and in 1856 has been 155 per cent. That of Missouri, in the same period, has been but 24 per cent. This direct comparison shows a wide disparity; in other words, Iowa has increased *seven times as fast as Missouri.*

Rapidity of settlement, however, in all new States, bears a positive relation to the valuation of land---the more rapid the increase in population the more rapid the rise in the prices of real estate. Assuming it to have a corresponding influence upon the value of farms, the State that increases seven times as fast as another of average growth, during a period of five years, will, at the lowest mark, at least double the value of its lands. I believe that to be an under-estimate. Place, then, Missouri in a like attitude, increasing seven times as fast in the next five years as in the last, and who can doubt that it would double, yea, treble the assessed worth of her landed estates, likewise. A very apt illustration of this fact may be found in the following return, taken from an official document before me. It gives the land sales of Iowa and Missouri, for the fiscal year, ending June, 1855, as follows:

	Acres.	Valuation.
Iowa.....	3,822,691	\$4,741,341 98
Missouri.....	2,930,199	1,282,072 34

The number of acres sold are seen to be nearly as three to four, while the value of such sales are as one to four, showing the public lands in Iowa to command quadruple the price of similar lands in Missouri.

Other of the Western States that invite immigration by their freedom from the institution of slavery, although they may not show quite so enormous a growth yet approximate towards it. Thus the returns of the *votes* cast in several of them at the elections of 1852 and 1856, are as follows:

	1852.	1856.	Net. inc.	Per centage of increase.
Wisconsin.....	55,898	119,407	63,509	114
Iowa.....	35,222	89,812	54,590	155
Michigan.....	82,939	125,558	42,619	51
Illinois.....	155,497	238,975	83,478	53
Indiana.....	176,200	250,000	73,800	42
Total.....	505,756	823,752	317,996	average 62½

This is confirmatory of the rapid growth that would await Missouri under the influence of complete emancipation. At the present time the total value of all the taxable real estate in Missouri is \$88,814,628. The value of all the slaves, estimating them at \$500 a piece, would be something over \$50,000,000. This sum, therefore, taken from the increased value of real estate, doubled by the influx of population, would still leave a large excess over the entire value of the slave property, amounting to more than \$30,000,000. That such will be the effect produced, whenever an act of emancipation shall have rid us of slave labor, I am fully satisfied, that the result will be a substantial benefit to all classes, but more especially to those who, owning slaves, are also interested in landed property is also seen---for, in addition to the compensation for any personal loss they may sustain, they would enjoy the increased value thereby given to their freeholds.

In connection with the statements of population just adduced, it may not be amiss to refer to another point of view, in which they are worthy of our serious consideration. It has been seen that in Wisconsin, Iowa, Michigan, Illinois and Indiana, the vote polled in 1852 was 505,756, and 1856 was 823,752, or a net increase of 62½ per cent in all these States put together. Calculating the vote

cast to have been one to every six persons, and we have, in those States alone, a population of nearly 5,000,000, and a representative population entitling them, at the present ratio, to *fifty-seven* representatives, where they now have only *twenty-nine*. This, sir, is a matter that touches nearly the weightiest political, as well as social, interests of Missouri. The increased representation of the progressing States will, under the next apportionment, be at the expense of those which lag behind. The Southern States will all fall short, and be reduced in representation; and I venture to say that, from the importance of the interests involved, no State can so ill afford such reductions as Missouri. According to estimates that have been made, and bearing in mind that the number of representatives is limited to two hundred and thirty-five, it may be calculated that, after 1860, the Congress of the United States will show a disparity of seventy-five members from the slave States to one hundred and sixty from the free States. It now stands, *ninety* members from the slave States and one hundred and forty-five from the free States. If, therefore, we look with any concern to our representation in the future, and our influence in the national councils, it would be well for us to commence at once the encouraging of free white immigration to Missouri. The pride that we all feel in the greatness of our State--the brilliant career that is guaranteed to us by our central position in the valley of the Mississippi--if we shall only prove true to ourselves--the dominancy which Missouri ought to exert over neighboring States, from her gigantic commerce and inestimable resources--all of these are involved in the issue. It becomes us, then, to take heed how we trifle with so great a destiny.

Such are some of the aspects in which this question presents itself to my mind as affecting alike the landed interests, the growth of population, and the importance, in national influence, of the State of Missouri.

Another point of view, and one that will amply repay investigation, is the bearing which gradual emancipation may have upon trade and commerce. I venture, sir, to declare here, that it would add millions of dollars to the aggregate wealth that now floats upon our streams, and passes along our highways. So long as slavery obtains, as a system, in our community, so long, it would seem--if we are to judge from past experience--slavery agitations will continue to disturb all the relations of society; and to none does it ever cause a greater shock than to those exchanges that may well be styled the nerves of commerce. We have seen something of this ourselves during the past year. We have witnessed a Kansas foray, originating in a political agitation of the slavery question, shaping itself into armed expeditions against a neighboring territory, and eventuating in the blockade of that great navigable stream which runs through the heart of our State; in the stoppage of travel and transportation, and in the diversion of trade, that of right belongs to us, into Northern and Southern routes. It may be estimated that one act alone of violence, upon the Missouri river, injured us to the amount of more than one hundred and fifty thousand dollars, in the shape of the discouragement of transit by Kansas emigrants through our State. It certainly diverted more than ten thousand people from the accustomed route upon yonder waters, that flow within our view, and forced them, to seek other and devious ways to reach their destination. That is but a single item of the injury inflicted, but it is a telling item, and one that speaks volumes upon this subject of agitation. We have seen, also, the demoralization which has been so frequently produced by it upon society at large, and which, after sundering all business relations, has substituted plunder for purchase. Who does not recall, during the late Kansas war, the utter suspension of business relations which prevailed in counties contiguous to the line? Then the ties which bound merchant to merchant were suddenly snapped asunder; and the consequence was, that all trade languished; shops and stores closed their doors, and put up the sign "To Let;" flourishing towns sorrowed over deserted wharfs, and a settled aspect of stagnation hung over all the western half of Missouri. And has not all this something to do with the question before us? Such agitations would be forever debarred, if the fruitful cause of all this turmoil were removed; and now, especially, when, by resolution, it is proposed to rekindle the flames of



similar excitements in the political canvass of August next, it becomes a pertinent question to consider how much of the injury lately inflicted upon trade and commerce, would be avoided in the future by an act of gradual emancipation.

Emancipation would put an eternal rest to all such scenes as those that transpired during the late troubles. This I feel to be self-evident. But, sir, it would also do more. It would restore to us the position which we have lost, and place our State again in its ascendant attitude, controlling the empire of Western trade. But a few years ago Missouri grasped in her hand the commerce of Oregon and of California, of New Mexico and of Utah. The valley of the Kansas is the natural *deboche* for all the routes that, coming from the Pacific coasts and newly conquered territories, penetrate the central portions of the continent. That river empties into the Missouri at a central point in our western frontier line. Near its outlet large towns have sprung up in our State, supported in the part by an extended traffic with Indian tribes, and more recently by the trade with Mexico and California. But what is now the condition? The animosities which have been engendered by attempts of our citizens to extend the system of slavery over Kansas have only resulted in wresting from our clutch this vast commercial monopoly. The connections with the Pacific are being transferred from the Kansas river to the Platte river—the trade of the Golden State is moving north, and unless arrested by timely action here, soon its outpost will be at Council Bluffs, and its emporium at Chicago. This is purely the result of northern antipathies to the institution of slavery. Equally deleterious is the attempt being made to induce Mexican commerce to desert our highways. Southern sentiment, likewise aroused, has taken this trade under its keeping, and zealous efforts are being made to concentrate it to the south of us, by establishing Fort Scott as the depot, and Memphis as the destination. In both directions railroad extensions are being pressed forward with vigor to intercept, at the earliest moment, our commerce with the far West, and force it into rival routes, the one to the North, the other to the South. Missouri thus finds herself the target of the two hostile sections of the Union. She stands between the two fires, and is made the butt of each party. She finds herself isolated and crippled, and all owing to slavery agitations that took their rise among her own citizens. I see no remedy for all this—I see nought that will restore her lost position—nothing that will recapture the trade and commerce of the western half of this vast continent, save and except an act of emancipation that will cast out the discordant element from amongst us.

But if we have reason to deplore the disasters which have already befallen, and the diversions of trade which are still to be apprehended, how much more cause shall we have to be cast down when we contemplate the influence that this matter is likely to exert in our relations to the commerce of the world, and to national legislation affecting the great arteries of that commerce. Unmistakably the slavery question is at the bottom of the injurious discriminations which have been made by Congress against Missouri, and hence it is that injuries resulting from thence are proper arguments in behalf of emancipation. But what, I ask, is the true state of affairs in the premises? I answer, sir, that owing to the position which she now occupies, owing to the excitements attendant upon this subject throughout the United States, Missouri has been regarded with an evil eye, and denied that justice which her people were entitled to demand from the Congress of the nation. Those highways, designed to lead from our frontier to the Pacific, have not only been denied to us, but the whole power of the Government has been exerted to force them far to the north, or far to the south. A continental railroad is not permitted to start from our border. Our State interests and State rights have been crushed out by rivalries between the North and the South, and we stand this day indebted to the "goose question" for our deprivation of that highway of the world which would have poured into our ware-rooms the wealth of Asia and the Indies. There is, likewise, another point in this contemplation that we must not

overlook. Commerce and trade, equally with the landed interests of the country, are interwoven with the advance of population. In treating of this advance, I have already alluded to the rapid immigration which is filling up the North-Western States, and blazing the path of empire along higher parallels of latitude than our own. It will be pertinent to show here that the same thing is being accomplished along those nearer the tropics. In other words, I affirm that the immigration from the very slave States themselves, to which a certain class of politicians would attach Missouri as a mere appendage, is carefully avoiding our State, and directing its course to the extreme south. As one among many evidences of this fact I submit a statement recently put forth in a most reliable public journal, the *National Intelligencer*, wherein this emigration from the older slave State to the South is shown to be both "remarkably large and constantly on the increase." In the course of its comment the "Intelligencer" extracts from a late number of the *Memphis Bulletin*, the following :

"We have never before observed so large a number of emigrants going westward as are crossing the river at this point daily ; the two ferry boats (sometimes three) going crowded, from early morn until the boats cease to make their trips at night. It is no common sight to see from twenty to forty wagons encamped on the bluff for the night, notwithstanding there has been a steady stream going across the river all day ; and yet the cry is, still they come. The emigration is from the older states—mostly Virginia, North and South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, and this State—all going to settle in Arkansas and Texas. Judging from these indications, the influx of population into these States will be larger this season than ever before, and of good substantial citizens."

Extended remarks upon such facts are unnecessary. They speak for themselves, and show that emigration from the Slave States is striking for the South, just as that from the free States is pointing to the North. A *bifurcation* takes place, which renders Missouri a sort of "Debateable Land." Increasing, in a certain ratio, she is ; but it is in despite of these antagonistic efforts. Change her relative position to the older States, invite labor, and capital, and commerce, strike off the shackles, and Missouri would spring up with the strength of a young giantess. How transcendently unwise then is that policy that would make sacred her chains, and perpetuate a system that strikes at the root of all her future greatness.

Sir, amid the archives of past history, that treat of the rise and fall of the dominant nations of the earth, two grand and striking causes stand out as the controlling powers that have shaped the destiny of empires. One is embraced in that vast movement of population, which taking its rise from the age when the Huns emerged from the Asiatic plains ; and continuing unabated even to the present time, has sent all the waves of migration rolling westward in continuous flow. The other is found in that oriental commerce which, from the dawn of tradition, has connected the accumulated wealth of the most ancient civilizations of the East with the arts and enterprise of the youngest nations of the West, and which, in all its mutations, has ever marked out the seats of empire. And is it wise, or well, that we here in this day, should set our faces as flint against both these mighty forces? We, sir, have our duty to Missouri and her people to perform, and it becomes us to do it neither slothfully nor in conflict with the two leading ideas that have governed mankind from time immemorial. Representatives! I tell you that while you are higgling here for the empty endorsement of an effete system of slavery, the empire of the world is gliding from your grasp. Look at Missouri, the central State of a new continent that is everywhere teeming with productiveness. Consider what she might become. God and nature have set their seals upon her, as hereafter to be the beating heart of the grandest civilization the earth has ever known. Far off from the frozen North, from the East, and from the West, come a thousand tributary streams, which, wedded together, pour their waters along her border or through her territory. The "Father of Floods" floats her commerce to the Gulf. Mountains of mineral wealth, and rich table lands of wonderful fertility, lie almost untouched within her confines. Look again, and imagine to yourselves, that great

current of traffic between the old world and the new as centering here, and making this the market of its exchanges, and the depot for its transshipment and dispersion. You can point to no spot, where it has ever yet tarried that it has not built up large and flourishing communities that have been miracles of progress in arts, in manufactures, in all that pertains to the well-being of man. From the olden time when it called forth cities in the desert; from the time when it sent out its fleets from Phœnicia; from the time of the loftiest pride of Imperial Rome, and the days when its caravans threaded the crowded ways of Thebes; from the time when it gilded the minarets of Constantinople with more than oriental splendor, or later when it made the merchants of Venice the honorable of the earth, down to the present day, when it is gathering millions of people in the streets of London, and giving to its money kings the control of the finances of all nations; from those periods to this it has been ever the same in its talismanic touch. Still again look out upon the West, and contemplate those immense stretches of pastoral lands that sweep up to the base of the mountains, a thousand miles away, and that should send all their products hither for a market; lands that are now trodden by billions of buffalo, and that must in the future, be covered with herds of cattle that will defy all powers of calculation. See these things, Representatives, as possible; the advantage accruing from the natural position held by Missouri; the trade of Europe and Asia meeting and exchanging in your midst; the purse strings of the most distant communities knotted in the hands of your citizens; the most favored valleys of the continental basin of the Mississippi pouring their produce into your lap; and then say, whether or not, the empire of the world is escaping from your grasp, while you agitate here to make slavery a perpetual barrier to your advancement.

There is another very important branch of industrial enterprise, upon which this question of emancipation, and its concurrent alternative of slave, or free white labor, bears with much force. I allude to its connection with those railroad lines, that so facilitate transport, and add so much to the taxable value of the property of the country. By reference to a statistical exhibit, which appeared in the American Railway times of January 5, 1854, it will be found that the total number of miles of railway then in operation was 17,811, of this number of miles, 13,318, are constructed in the free States, and but 4,493 in the slave States. Of those then in course of building but not finished, amounting in all to 12,898 miles, there were 7,053 in the free States, and 5,844 in the slave States. The total estimated cost of all is \$598,588,038, divided as follows: in the free States \$410,583,621, and in the slave States only \$98,001,417.

Again by reference to the American Almanac for 1857; a work which is perhaps surpassed by none other as an authority in statistical matters; we find that there were in operation, on the 1st of January, 1856, a total of 22,147 miles of railroad in the United States. A discrimination will show that of this number there were 16,240 miles in the free States, and 5,907 in the slave States, or an excess of 10,333 miles of running road. In 1854, as before shown, the excess of completed railway in the free, over the slave States, was only 8,125, so that we see within the past two years, the free States have gained on the slave States *more than fifteen hundred miles, or a length of road sufficient to connect us with the Pacific.*

And there is manifest reason for the striking difference thus developed. The free States are more dense in population, the production is greater, the travel and intercourse more frequent, and last of all they have the element of white labor amongst them, upon which railroads rely for construction, and without which they never can be built. Here, in Missouri, sir, we have also, on a somewhat extended scale, entered upon this system of internal improvement, by constructing trunk lines of railroad into different sections of the State. With infinite difficulty we have gotten them undertaken. Some are in a partial state of operation, and all are marked out, the right of way obtained, and the contracts let. The credit of the State is already pledged in the sum of nineteen millions of dollars for their completion, and

our bonds are now flooding the eastern markets in quest of purchasers. With them are bound up, at once, our State pride and our State interests. But who can estimate the influence they will hereafter exert in developing the resources of those parts of the country which are now cut off from all centres of trade. The effect, already produced, is, perhaps, no fair criterion of the immense results that are to follow, but even that is worthy of being looked at. An extract from the Auditor's Report, of the present year, will throw some light upon the subject. Speaking of one of our State railroads, he says :

"As the effect of the completion of the road has on the price of lands, the best answer that can be given is to state the present average prices along the located route, and compare these with the values of the same lands at the time the surveys of the road were commenced. These values may be classed as follows :

	PER ACRE.	PER ACRE.
In St. Louis county.....	January, 1853, \$40,	1856, \$100
St. Charles county.....	" " 10,	" 25
Warren county.....	" " 4,	" 15
Montgomery county.....	" " 21,	" 12
Audrian, Northern part of Boone, Randolph, Macon, Adair and Schuyler.....	" " 1½,	" 10

It is obvious that all lands which obtain through the road greater market facilities for their surplus products than they had previously, must be enhanced in value by its construction. I will first make an estimate based upon the above prices, and a width of five miles on each side of the road, or ten miles in all. The length of the road through St. Louis county is nearly twenty miles, but I deduct four for the city and environs of St. Louis. With this explanation I proceed to the following table :—

COUNTIES.	Length of Road.	Acres.	Value in January, 1853.	Present value	Increase in value.
St. Louis.....	16 miles,	102,400	\$4,096,000	\$10,240,000	\$6,144,000
St. Charles,.....	28 do	179,200	1,792,000	4,480,000	2,688,000
Warren,.....	20 do	128,000	512,000	2,920,000	2,408,000
Montgomery,.....	25 do	160,000	400,000	1,920,000	1,520,000
Audrian, Boone, Randolph, Macon, Adair, Schuyler, ..	137 do	876,800	1,315,200	8,768,000	7,453,000
		1,446,400	\$8,115,200	\$28,328,000	\$20,213,000

"Since the surveys were commenced, therefore, the farming lands within five miles of the road, have increased in value by the amount of twenty millions, two hundred and thirteen thousand dollars."

With these facts and figures before us, and with a full knowledge of the vast impulse which a free white population will give to this internal improvement system ; with the railroad experience of the whole Union set before our eyes in tabular form, and the authority of one of the heads of department of our State government, upon the matter of the additional values attached to home property by their construction, how can we fail to acknowledge that at least one of the great industrial interests of Missouri would infinitely be benefitted by an act of gradual emancipation. Slaves never have, and never will, build up the railroads of this country. Not a mile of running road now exists in this State that is not the product of free hands. The sinewy sons of toil, whose skins are as white, whose hearts as exalted, whose bodies as free, and whose souls are as proud as your own, sir, have done this work for Missouri. And to them we must look for any further effort or advance in the same direction. Theirs is the mission, in this day and generation, to save the credit and plighted faith of the State ; and theirs the privilege, at the same time, to tread our valleys, and climb our hills with the iron paths of inland commerce.

Considerations, such as those I have endeavored to adduce, have convinced me that the cause which I here advocate to-day—the cause of the free white working man against the slave—embodies all the elements of the social and material pro-

gress of the people of this State. Some of the salient points of that progress I have endeavored to present. But, sir, if there be any one department of enterprise and labor in which Missouri and her citizens are more largely interested than another, I consider it to be the development of those untold mineral riches that now await furnace, and forge, and anvil; and the building up of those innumerable manufactories that will follow in the train. High mountains of iron, numberless square miles of coal, inexhaustible mines of lead, rich and accessible veins of copper, quarries of marble and granite, immense formations of porphyry, discoveries of cobalt, and zinc, are leading features in the geology of the southern half of our State. From the earliest settlement of this territory by the French, the character of these volcanic regions has been no hidden secret. It was here that explorers made one of the earliest attempts at mining in North America. This was done under the auspices of the notorious John Law, when his bubble of speculation was at its highest; and Mine La Motte dates back to that period for its discovery. But, although known for more than a century, the mineral wealth of Missouri has slumbered in its mother earth for lack of labor to work and exhume it. The resources of a feeble system of slavery have been unequal to the task, and it is only at this late day that efforts are being made towards its development. Hence it is, sir, that I say—free white labor for the mines of Missouri. That is needed both to accomplish the desired end, and to preserve society from degradation after it is accomplished. I take it to be a proposition that cannot be controverted, that slave labor never has yet, and never can, be beneficially employed in bringing forth the product of a mineral country. It will in the end paralyze the prosperity of any State or Empire, where it is the chief dependence for such service. The proportions that must obtain in every such community, between proprietors and laborers, the disparity that is necessarily entailed, is so great and growing, that slavery will, within a short time, swallow up and demoralize the dominant race. I would refer, as an illustration of this truth, to the twin dependencies of old Spain, Mexico, and Peru—dependencies that were at one time the brightest ornaments of the united crown of Castile and Arragon. Read the chronicles of Peru and you will find but a long sad record of servile insurrection, and conflicts of castes, and popular demoralization in the wealthiest state of the Andes. From the revolt of Tupac Amaru in 1780, to the futile efforts of Bolivar in 1825 to improvise a free republic out of a nation of slaves, it was the same decayed state of society that resisted regeneration, and hurried on its own decline. Go to Brazil and you will find a mongrel population, fluctuating beneath an imbecile and impoverished government. The land that once sent its galleons freighted with treasure to fill the coffers, and sustain the wars, of Europe, is now the most degraded, and discredited State in South America. Or turn to Mexico, and what scene is visible? The race of the proud Hidalgo has run out. A nervous stupor pervades all classes. Rent by contending factions, reduced by an insufficient revenue, capable neither of maintaining social order nor reforming social abuses, Mexico has become a by-word of reproach amongst nations. *Peonage is the only institution left in her midst, and that is but a modified form of slavery.* Her condition in the nineteenth century is inferior to what it was in the fifteenth century. The Aztec civilization which Cortes found when he landed with his companions, surpassed the semi-Spanish civilization which Scott encountered, when he led his armies into the streets of her capital. Both countries have rotted to the core beneath the blighting influences of their labor systems. And I know of no exception, in all history, to the truth of what I have advanced. Look the world over, and it will be seen, that those countries where slave labor has been applied to the elaboration of large mineral districts have rapidly degenerated, while those in which free labor has undertaken the work, have risen up as brilliant commonwealths, or vigorous and thriving colonies. Witness the amazing growth of California and Australia. Within half a score of years they have flooded the channels of trade with their harvests of gold. The Pacific State is now rivaling the oldest in the confederation. There the free white citizen has been mas-

ter of the wealth which his own hands have gathered from auriferous rocks, or glittering sands and the bold, healthy, republican civilization which has ensued attests the superiority of that system of labor which he has established. Australia likewise, from being a penal settlement, has become the seat of empire in the Southern ocean, and even now, the miners who prospect there for gold, control a power that may, at any moment, make the proudest thrones of Europe tremble in the balance.

Throughout the remarks which I have had the honor to submit, sir, I have had occasion, incidentally, to refer to immigration more than once. That, in fact, is so intimately blended with every aspect in which emancipation can be viewed as to render it difficult to separate the two. But I desire now to invite attention more particularly to it with reference to the bearings of this question upon the immigrant himself. That both Foreign and American immigration is coming into Missouri, making large yearly additions to our population, and planting its colonies here, has already been shown, and needs no further proof. Even the civil strifes of our border, and the negro agitation of the interior, have not availed to prevent it, however much the two combined may have lessened it. But it must be confessed, at the same time, that it has come as it were, grudgingly and with hesitation, and that the influx has borne no proportion to that which pours into less favored regions that have more congenial institutions. The consequence is that instead of that dispersion of "settlers" throughout the State, which would most conduce to the welfare of the old resident, as well as the new immigrant, we find that those who come amongst us confine themselves to narrow limits and particular sections. Kindred tongues and community of feeling attach them often to the ruggedest spots. Thus we find large bodies of Germans congregated in the counties of Franklin, Washington, Osage and Cole. While the slave is tilling the exuberant soils of Lafayette and Howard, the free white emigrant, with the memory of his native land warm in his heart, is clothing the broken cliffs of the Gasconade with vineyards, and making beautiful the sterile hills of the Meramec with industrious cultivation. Where slaveholders have rarely found it desirable to locate, and often difficult to subsist, there the sturdy enterprise and unconquerable toil of the Teutonic race has built up flourishing villages and extended long lines of settlement. The banks of the Missouri and the Mississippi, not less than the routes of our various railroads, furnish abundant evidence of this fact. But I contend that such restriction upon white population, such repression within the poorest parts of Missouri is neither just, nor wise, nor liberal, as a policy in regard to immigration and that those who would crush out the emancipation movement that offers the only speedy relief to such a state of things, thereby make a discrimination against the white man and in favor of the slave. I am satisfied, from my own observation in connection with this subject, that this tendency to congregate into isolated communities has been, in great part, caused by those very pro-slavery crusades which have been latterly the staple of politics in Missouri, and hence it is, that I arraign the men who have figured in such concerted agitations, and the party that has lent itself to such work, as the foe to immigration into our State. Furthermore, I here make presentment before the people, as guilty of a high crime in this behalf of that political organization styling itself National Democratic—though in truth a mere pro-slavery disunion organization—which has this day brought forward the resolution against which I have addressed my argument. Sir, there is no middle ground whereon men may stand and encourage immigration, while at the same time they make war upon emancipation. The two are so bound up together that they may not be separated. That party which undertakes, by entries upon the public journals here, to avow itself at one and the same time as the friend of immigration and the peculiar champion of the adopted citizen, and as the foe to the gradual extinction of slavery and the assailant of the rights of white laboring men—is slily self convicted of imposture. Immigration is extinguishing slavery wherever it obtains, and the so-called "National Democrats" may set it down in

their books, that when they adopt the negro, they disconnect themselves from the confidence and support of the laboring white man, no matter what may be his race or tongue. There is no stand point between the two. The party that plants itself upon the resolution before us must accept the consequences of the position. Wedded to a pro-slavery propaganda it may as well announce at once the necessary result of its cardinal doctrine and proclaim hostility to all immigration, but chief of all, to that of foreign and adopted citizens.

And be it understood, that I do not say this in view of any Know Nothing proclivities those gentlemen may have evinced in the past, or of any present party lines that may exist in this General Assembly. A transient order grew up in a night and was cut down in a day, which had for its object the curtailment of the citizen rights of a large class in the United States. The party with which I have acted, and I, myself, as bitterly as any, have been from the outset, and ever will be opposed upon principle, to the creed which they put forth. But they are gone now; the issue they made is a dead issue, condemned by the country, and I have no mission to invade the sepulchre or disturb the remains. It will be sufficient to say that while the American party aimed only to strip foreign immigration of its franchise, the pro-slavery party has gone farther and inaugurated an attack upon its labor. The one raised an outcry at the rights which government had granted to all—the other deals a blow at the inheritance which God has conferred upon every one. Choose between them! But let me say, for my own justification, that I infinitely more respect and tolerate the first than the last.

In approaching the close of this inquiry into the facts connected with the matter of slavery as a labor system in Missouri, and the various branches of wealth and industry that may be affected by its gradual extinction, I cannot forbear adverting to one topic which is often put forth as an argument by those who contend for the perpetuation of the institution. It is that any change in our present domestic relations would be fraught with the incalculable evil of separating us from the South, and attaching us to the North. It is urged that Missouri belongs to the South, is identified with the South, and should, therefore, adhere to the South as much through pride as through policy. Sir, I confess that I cannot regard this subject in that light. Missouri has nothing in common with the South, either in national or home concerns. Nor does she owe any debt of gratitude to the South. It is, on the contrary, to the representatives of Southern States that she is indebted for almost all the hostility that has been shown to her most cherished interest in the halls of Congress. The many defeats of her long projected highway across the continent; the rejection of appropriation bills for her river and harbor improvements; the refusal to permit any reform in the oppressive system that prevails in the ownership, by the United States government, of land within her boundary—all these have resulted to her from the persistent hostility of Southern statesmen. Nor is she identified with the South either by position or natural association. Three-fourths of her trade finds a market in Northern seaports; while two-thirds of her imports come from the same points. Her station is geographically defined as a Central State—at present the advanced leader of the Western States. Her place in political affairs is no less significantly marked out. It is to hold the balance even between the North and South until the Great West shall have risen to be a third power in the confederacy; to repress factions, quell agitations, put forth moderate counsels, and crush out with everlasting scorn the impious sectionalism that would dare to imperil the present Union. Neither is her civilization the civilization of the North or of the South. It is not after the type of the vast labor organizations, the incipient communism of the former; nor again is it akin to the boasted patriarchal society of the latter. It is eminently a Western civilization, looking to the development of the individual man—to the construction of the social fabric upon a basis at once of independence and self-dependence. Here with us are neither Fourierite ideas nor plantation aristocracies. Ours is a growing State, and needs population and labor; and it is

to this condition of things, and in view of these wants, that we should shape our policy; and, in conjunction with surrounding States, build our faith upon Western measures. It would be as absurd for Missouri to ape the fanaticism of South Carolina upon the slavery issues as it would be to mimic Massachusetts upon the ultra abolition issues. Those who would have her people embark in the cause of Southern radicalism and secession, who would have them sacrifice every interest of society to a wild agitation in behalf of slavery extension, are but blind leaders of the blind, and have neither a true conception of the destiny that awaits our State, nor a full and just appreciation of the many social evils that are already attendant upon the institution as it exists amongst us. I am, sir, no alarmist, and have no desire to go heedlessly into a discussion of the domestic relations between master and slave. It is not needed that I should comment upon that theme, in order to a fair presentation of the matter before us. It will be sufficient to point the meaning of the views expressed in regard to Western civilization, by affirming that practical emancipation, flowing from natural causes, is one of its most striking developments; and to add that those who have lived, and acted, and felt, amidst communities where slavery existed, know something of its attendant evils, and something of its occasional abuses. They know that amongst the whites the chief sufferers are the young; and, amongst the blacks the aged; that it superinduces thriftlessness in boyhood, extravagance in manhood, and poverty in the declining days of life; and that taken even in its best light, there are many things about its domestic character over which it is prudent to draw the veil. Upon this point, therefore, I desire to say no more. What I have said has been dictated by no prejudice, but by an earnest desire to represent all the bearing of this subject of emancipation in their true light. Even this may be considered by some as unwarrantable liberty, and I may be arraigned, in the cant language of the day, as not being "*loyal to the institutions of the State.*" Sir, I am "*loyal*" to the to the welfare of Missouri, and that, I hold, transcends in importance, any institution. But, I am not, and never will be "*loyal*" in the sense of blind adherence to everything that may be established. Such loyalty would be a crime against the spirit of the age. Sir, was Virginia loyal to her institutions when she abolished primogeniture? Was Pennsylvania loyal to hers when she abolished slavery? Were the Colonies loyal to theirs when they abolished royalty? This is the cry with which bigots intimidate fools. Loyalty to existing institutions shuts out all reform. There is one institution to which all citizens should be ever loyal, and only one—that is the sovereignty of the people. All other institutions must conform to that or cease to exist.

I have not the least disposition, sir, to prolong my remarks. I have said in substance what I designed saying in regard to the past, the present and the future aspects of the slavery issue that has been forced upon us by the Senate resolution. The suddenness with which it has been sprung; the one day's notice only of the introduction of the proposition that has been accorded to us, the inability to obtain access, in this remote capital, to invaluable sources of information that would have thrown much light upon the subject, have all conspired to render very imperfect the exposition that has been attempted. But, sir, if nothing else has been accomplished this day, one thing has transpired, and that is the bringing up of the whole subject for future discussion. *The introduction of this resolution has made emancipation henceforth and forever an open question in Missouri.* I presume, sir, that when the inquiry has been moved by those who claim to be the exclusive guardians of the slave interests of the State, men who may feel solicitude for other interests, and may be concerned directly in the encouragement of a more exalted species of labor, will not hesitate to speak out their opinions. When the champions of negro bondage press forward to inscribe their belief upon the records of this General Assembly, the vindicators of the rights of the white man, the free man, the working man will not be slow to appeal to the verdict of an enlightened public sentiment. Hence it is, I venture to say, that emancipation is henceforward an



open question in Missouri. That resolution is the warrant for full, fearless, and conscientious examination in all the after time. None other is needed; if it were, it could be found in the highest instrument of writing in our organic law. The constitution of Missouri has made provision concerning the emancipation of all the slaves in the State. The first article of the twenty-sixth section, whilst defining and limiting the powers of the General Assembly, "*for the emancipation of slaves,*" yet points out two modes in which it may be done. The course of coming events was clearly foreseen by those who framed that charter of rights, and this great change was discussed and provided for in accordance with ideas that then prevailed. It was, moreover, incorporated into the organic law, that the constitution itself could be amended upon this as all other subjects, by two successive and concurring General Assemblies. If then, sir, I or you, or any other, may be impelled to urge a radical but gradual reform in regard to this institution of slavery; may we not with the constitution of Missouri in hand—with high considerations of the welfare of the State at heart—and with the rights and interests of eight hundred thousand free white citizens in our keeping—may we not, I say, feel fully prepared to stand forward and answer at the bar of public opinion with triumphant and convincing argument.

But, sir, I am asked what propositions, by bill or otherwise, I may desire to submit. I answer that, at the present time, I have none. I do not deem it my province to furnish them, and those who have themselves introduced this subject before the House should be the last to make the demand. What I wish to contend for here is not so much the mere emancipation of the black race, as it is what I will define to be **THE EMANCIPATION OF THE WHITE RACE**. I seek to emancipate the white man from the yoke of competition with the negro. I aim to relieve the free man from conflict with the slave. This is the truest and highest significance of gradual emancipation, and I think it is to be accomplished, in its *initiative stages* chiefly by legislation for the protection and profit of white labor—for the calling forth of the immense resources of our State—for the encouragement of immigration and settlement in our midst—for the progression of arts and manufactures, of commercial freedom and railroad extensions—for the securing of homesteads to the poor, so that they may be independent of the rich, and work for the needy, yet industrious, so that they may be elevated in the ranks of life; in short, by legislating now and in the future, for all those objects that are blended with the material and social advancement of the great masses of the people. This will accomplish, with all rightful speed, the emancipation of the white race; and, when that is done, the emancipation of the slave race will follow forthwith. When white labor shall have gained the ascendancy, the respect the development that it needs, slavery will linger, only as the Indian races now linger in the Territories; and when that time comes, which all present indications show is almost upon us, be sure that systems and schemes and projects for the emancipation of the remaining slaves will be abundantly presented and acted upon. Laws equal to the intent will not be wanting; for, as I have before observed, the enactment that sweeps the institution of slavery from the statute books will be, in substance, the promulgation of an event already transpired. Then, too, sir, it will be found that those who still hold slaves will be among the strongest advocates of the measure, and the most eager assistants in framing the provisions of the bill. They will be clamorous for compensation, and that they will obtain it, I have no shadow of doubt. It has been already seen that the landed interest alone would derive an increased value more than twice the estimated worth of all the slaves in the State. At this day they are returned in the tax books as \$50,000,000 of property. Five years hence they will not be half their present number or valuation—deportation will have thinned their ranks—and the people of this State, while they can well afford to make an investment inferior in magnitude to the twenty millions of credit already extended to the railroad system, and which promises such a harvest of industrial gain, will feel too deeply the regard that should be entertained for vested rights and the respect due to the

claims of our own citizens, ever to hesitate between compensation and glaring injustice.

Such, sir, are my honest convictions; such are my views in relation to emancipation in Missouri. In giving expression to them upon this occasion, I trust I have been fully impressed with the gravity of the subject, and the lengthening chain of great events dependent upon its solution. None other of vaster importance has, as yet, come before us for deliberation; and in the temper in which it has been treated of, in the argument and the illustration, I indulge the hope that no word may have fallen from me that has at all tended to provoke acrimonious feeling. Dwelling in a community, and representing a constituency, where labor and industry are no badges of servitude, but rather the insignia of honor, I have had their welfare and dignity too much at heart, to be drawn into any intemperate discussion. Their right to have an out-spoken vindication uttered here upon this floor in behalf of their toiling energy which has coined such wealth for Missouri, and which yearly pays more than a third part of the revenue of the State, has fully impressed me in all that I have said. If I have discharged my duty, I shall rest content. You, Representatives, have yourselves within the past fortnight done St. Louis, the city which has sent me here, the honor to accept an invitation to visit it, and partake of an entertainment prepared for your reception. You saw there in its public edifices, in its libraries, its hospitals, its charitable institutions, its solid squares of business houses, its crowded thoroughfares and swarming hotels, its commercial activity and vigorous manufacturing spirit, many of the evidences of the untiring enterprise of its people. You likewise met, and mingled at the festive board, with some of its wealthiest and worthiest citizens, with the representatives of its corporate authority, with merchants and mechanics who have done much for its prosperity at home, and even more for its credit abroad. Toasts were drank, sentiments given, compliments exchanged, speeches delivered, in honor of the occasion, the State, the guests, the city, and many may have conceived that they realized in that presence, the true authors of all the industrial manifestations they saw around them. But such was not the ease—in any just sense. If you would find out the true builders of that great metropolis, the men to whom belongs, of right, the credit and compliment, you must go below the shining surface of society. We read in the voyages of mariners, stories of enchanted isles far off in unfrequented seas, beautiful with tropic vegetation, laden with floral wreath, and, apparently, floating on the bosom of the smooth waters. But fathom the depths of that ocean, and it will be found that they rest upon vast reefs of coral, whose structure has been the work of millions of infinitesimal animalculæ laboring for ages and ages, with unending toil. And similar is the instance before you. If you would know the true foundations of the riches and greatness of St. Louis, if you would see the architects of all that appealed so strikingly to your observation, you must go deep down into the strata of society, and witness there the laboring classes struggling on in the daily avocations of life. Upon the wharves, and along the streets, in counting-house, and workshop, and foundry, wherever labor was to be performed, their hands have been in ceaseless employ, and to them should be awarded the praise of all that has been accomplished. There, as elsewhere, they have been the support, as well as the constructors, of the entire fabric of industrial development. In this respect, the working-man of the city is the compeer of the yeoman of the country, and, as such, deserves to share equally in that noble eulogy which has been so finely uttered by Goldsmith;

“Ill fares the land to hastening ills a prey,  
Where wealth accumulates and men decay.  
Princes and lords may flourish, or may fade,  
A breath can make them, as a breath has made;  
But a bold peasantry, their country's pride,  
When once destroyed, can never be supplied.”

## ERRATA.

On page 8, fifteenth line from the bottom, instead of "one to thirteen" read "*one to seventeen.*"

On page 9, ninth line from the bottom, instead of "emigration" read "*immigration.*"

On page 10, sixth line from the bottom, instead of "1 to 18" read "81 to 1," thus:

"*Ratio of increase of Free Whites to Slaves in ninety-five counties in five years 81 to 1.*"

On page 14, tenth line from the top instead of "Decline of the Roman Empire" read "*Decline of the Roman people.*"